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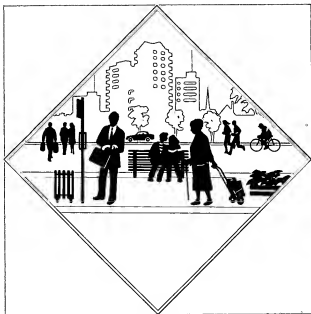
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**THE INNER CITY
IN TRANSITION**

Canada

THE INNER CITY IN TRANSITION



by Bali Ram, Mary Jane Norris and Karl Skof

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December 1989

Price: Canada, \$10.00
Other Countries, \$11.00

Catalogue 98-123

ISBN 0-660-54015-0

Ottawa

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Ram, Bali

The inner city in transition

1986 Census of Canada

Title on added t.p.: Evolution des centres-villes.

Text in English and French with French text on
inverted pages.

ISBN 0-660-54015-0

CS98-123

1. Cities and towns -- Canada -- Statistics
2. Urbanization -- Canada 3. Demographic transition --
Canada 4. Sociology, Urban -- Canada 5. Canada --
Census, 1986 I. Norris, M. J II. Skof, Karl J., 1949-
III. Statistics Canada IV. Title. V. Title: Evolution
des centres-villes.

HT127.R35 1989 307.76'0971

C90-098002-8E

PREFACE

The 1986 Census of Canada provided, as did all the previous censuses, a rich source of information on individual, family and household characteristics of Canadians. The census data allow individual researchers as well as academic, business, cultural, social and governmental organizations to undertake in-depth enquiries and analyses on those social issues which interest and concern them.

This study is part of the 1986 Focus on Canada Series. The series is a modest effort by Statistics Canada to provide overviews of a wide variety of subjects on which the 1986 Census collected information. The studies have been written by experts, both inside and outside Statistics Canada, in non-technical language supported by simple tables and attractive charts. The topics include demographic characteristics (population, families, farmers, youth, seniors, the disabled), socio-cultural characteristics (ethnicity, language, education), and economic characteristics (women in the labour force, affordability of housing, occupational trends, employment income, family income).

The present study on "The Inner City in Transition" was authored by Bali Ram, Mary Jane Norris and Karl Skof of the Demography Division in Statistics Canada.

I would like to express my appreciation to the authors, to the reviewers and to the staff of the Bureau involved in managing and producing this series.

We hope that the studies in the Focus on Canada Series will not only provide Canadians with very useful information on various facets of Canadian society, but will also be an inducement for them to undertake further research on the topics.

Ivan P. Fellegi
Chief Statistician of Canada

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HIGHLIGHTS

- For the first time since 1951, inner cities are experiencing an increase in population. Between 1981 and 1986, the overall inner-city population increased by 5%.
- In general, inner-city populations have a high concentration of elderly persons and an under-representation of children compared with the population in metropolitan areas. In 1986, only 9% of inner-city residents were under age 15 compared with 20% in the outlying area. Conversely, persons 65 years and over represented 15% of inner-city residents but only 10% of the outlying area.
- Inner cities tend to be inhabited mainly by unmarried persons and people who live alone. In 1986, 62% of inner-city residents aged 15 and over were unmarried, compared with only 38% in outlying metropolitan areas. Persons living alone comprised more than half (56%) of the households within inner cities, compared with just 22% of households in outlying areas.
- In 1986, almost half (49%) of the families in inner cities were childless, compared with only one-third of those in outlying areas. About 22% of families in inner cities were lone-parent families, compared with 14% in the balance of metropolitan areas.
- Immigrants comprise a higher proportion of the population in inner cities than in the balance of metropolitan areas. In 1986, immigrants represented 30% of the inner-city population but only 22% of the population in the remainder of the metropolitan area.
- Between 1961 and 1986, the concentration of persons with ethnic origins other than British and French has remained consistently higher in inner cities. In 1986, these persons represented 53% of the population in inner cities, compared with 47% in outlying areas.
- Inner cities and their respective outlying areas have become more dissimilar, with the increasing concentration of university-educated population living in the inner city. In 1986, over one-third (36%) of the inner-city population had at least some university education, compared with just 23% of the population in outlying areas. The corresponding figures in 1971 were 17% and 14%, respectively.

-
- Between 1971 and 1986, the proportion of the labour force engaged in managerial and professional occupations and living in the inner city has increased relative to the outlying areas. In 1986, 37% of the inner-city labour force occupied managerial and professional posts, compared with only 28% in outlying areas. The corresponding figures in 1971 were 24% and 22%, respectively.
 - The overall inner-city/suburb income disparity has widened. In 1970, the median income of inner-city families was 70% of that of families in the outlying area. By 1985, it had dropped to 62%.
 - The rate of home ownership is much lower in inner cities than elsewhere in metropolitan areas. In 1986, only 14% of inner-city residential dwellings were owner-occupied, compared to 57% of the dwellings in outlying areas.
 - Housing values of owner-occupied dwellings were higher, on average, in inner cities than in outlying areas. In 1986, the average value of a dwelling in the inner cities was \$140,300 compared with \$108,300 in the outlying areas.

INTRODUCTION

Canadian cities experienced large-scale suburbanization and inner-city decline during the 1950s and 1960s. However, in recent decades, there has been renewed interest in the inner cities as places of residence. As a result, many cities have made a transition which is reflected in the changing demographic, family, cultural and socio-economic characteristics of the inner-city residents.

This study examines (i) the extent of differences between inner cities and their outlying areas; (ii) whether inner cities have become increasingly similar or dissimilar in relation to the remainder of the census metropolitan areas; and (iii) whether inner cities have been undergoing revitalization in recent years. By doing so, this study dispels numerous myths about inner cities.

Data on Canada's inner cities are also useful from the point of policies covering urban renewal. Specifically, these data facilitate programs designed to improve and strengthen existing housing stock and social infrastructure, and to encourage new housing and reinvestment in these areas.

Many studies have been published on inner-city transition. This study is unique, however, because of its scope in terms of examining the changing characteristics of a large number of cities over a longer period than previous studies.

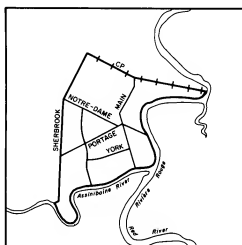
Canadian censuses provide a variety of data, rich in geographic and socio-economic details. These data have made it possible to undertake this study for 12 census metropolitan areas over the 1951-1986 period. A census metropolitan area is the main urban labour market area of at least 100,000 population. The selected metropolitan areas are Toronto, Montréal, Vancouver, Ottawa-Hull, Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, Québec, Halifax, Saskatoon, Regina, and Saint John. Census tracts, which are small and socio-economically homogeneous neighbourhoods, formed the basis of defining inner-city boundaries. Data by census tract for the 35-year period were available only for these 12 metropolitan areas. Inner-city boundaries have been held constant for the entire period, while those of the remainder of the metropolitan areas have changed according to annexations.

There is no standard definition of the inner city. The definition used here is based on a previous Statistics Canada study.¹ The delineation of the inner-city area in this earlier study was based on land use and age of development criteria selected in consultation with the planning departments of respective cities. Thus, the inner city refers to the core of the metropolitan area, which includes the site of the earliest development of the city, the "central business district", and the surrounding areas of mixed land uses, with high density residential development. The 12 inner cities and their boundaries are shown in the following maps.

This study begins with a look at the changing population size and share of the 12 inner cities. Demographic structures and trends between inner cities and their respective outlying areas are then compared. A discussion follows on inner-city/suburb differences in selected trends and patterns of the family.

The analysis then examines how immigrant and ethnic concentrations in inner cities have changed over time. This is followed by a description of the change in socio-economic characteristics in terms of education, occupation, income, home ownership, and cost of dwelling. The study concludes with an overall assessment of inner-city/suburb differences, the growing similarities and dissimilarities between the two areas and the extent of renewal of the inner city.

¹ Perspectives Canada III, Catalogue No. 11-511, pages 183-240.

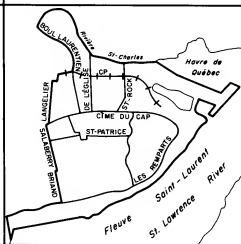
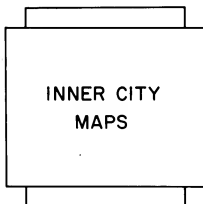
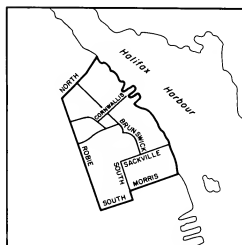


WINNIPEG

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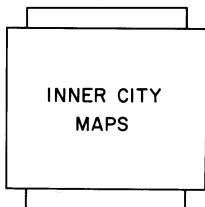
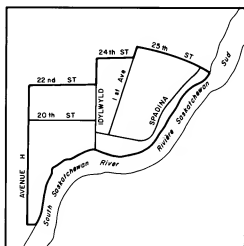
HALIFAX

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QUÉBEC

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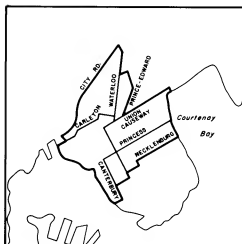
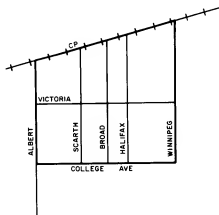


SASKATOON

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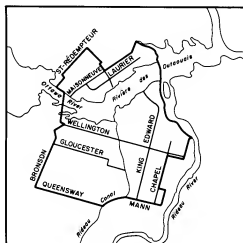
SAINT JOHN

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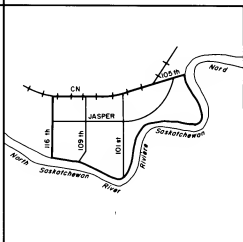
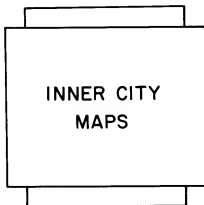
REGINA

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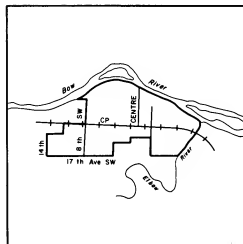
OTTAWA-HULL

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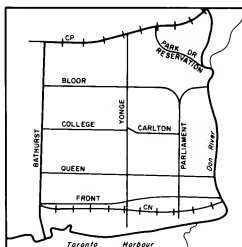
CALGARY

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EDMONTON

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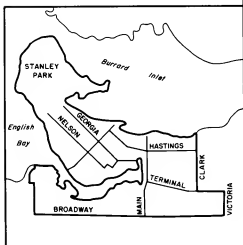


TORONTO

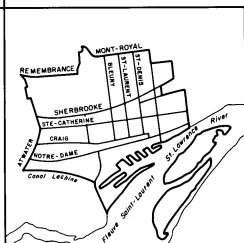
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VANCOUVER

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INNER CITY MAPS



MONTREAL

3000 0 3000 m

POPULATION OF INNER CITIES

POPULATION OF INNER CITIES

In 1951, there were 15 census metropolitan areas (called metropolitan areas hereafter), with about 40% of Canada's population residing in these areas, and the remaining 60% in non-metropolitan areas. By 1986, the distribution was completely reversed, with 60% of Canadians residing in metropolitan areas. This growing phenomenon is due not only to population growth but also to the effect of areal expansion of metropolitan areas and the addition of new metropolitan areas as other urban centres became larger.

Canada had 25 metropolitan areas in 1986. The 12 areas chosen in this study represent nearly 80% of the total 1986 metropolitan population of some 15 million in Canada. In terms of population, as shown

in Table 1, these areas ranged from a low of 121,000 for Saint John to a high of 3,427,000 for Toronto. Their inner-city populations add to almost half a million, representing 4% of their combined total metropolitan population.

Inner-city Share of Total Metropolitan Population

Between 1951 and 1986, the inner cities' share of the total metropolitan area population has declined continuously, from 16% in 1951 to 4% by 1986. This is largely because inner-city boundaries have remained constant while the outlying areas have expanded. In addition, over the 35 years, the

Table 1. Population of 12 Census Metropolitan Areas and Inner Cities, 1986

CMA	Metropolitan area	Inner city
Toronto	3,427,165	128,165
Montréal	2,921,355	93,010
Vancouver	1,380,735	73,960
Ottawa-Hull	819,265	43,590
Edmonton	785,465	18,285
Calgary	671,325	18,840
Winnipeg	625,300	28,325
Québec	603,265	21,920
Halifax	295,990	10,490
Saskatoon	200,660	4,360
Regina	186,520	8,650
Saint John	121,265	6,845
Total	12,038,310	456,440

Source:
1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

population of inner cities has declined by 37%, whereas that of the outlying areas has increased by 200%.

The loss of population in some inner cities has been rather marked, as shown in Table 2. Over the 1951-1981 period, the inner-city populations of Montréal, Québec, Halifax and Regina shrunk by more than half. Other centres with significant losses were Ottawa-Hull, Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Saint John. Population reduction in these inner cities during the same 30 years ranged from 42% to 47%. Smaller losses, between 13% and 21%, were experienced by Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton and Calgary.

Turnaround in Inner-city Population Decline

A turnaround in the long-term decline of inner-city populations occurred during the 1981-1986 period. In Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton and Calgary, it occurred as early as 1976. During 1981-1986, all inner cities increased in population, except for Montréal and Saint John which lost population. These recent trends suggest that the historic decline of the inner city has been reversed, and indeed, some observers believe that a "back-to-the-city" movement has begun.

Table 2. Population of Inner Cities as a Percentage of Total Metropolitan Areas, 1951-1986

CMA	Inner-city population					Inner city as % of total metropolitan area				
	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
	'000					%				
Toronto	143.5	127.1	124.8	114.7	128.2	12.8	7.0	4.7	3.8	3.7
Montréal	219.7	163.0	128.0	93.5	93.0	15.7	7.7	4.7	3.3	3.2
Vancouver	83.9	70.4	72.6	71.6	74.0	15.8	8.9	6.7	5.6	5.4
Ottawa-Hull	80.9	72.1	57.5	43.0	43.6	28.7	16.8	9.5	6.0	5.3
Edmonton	20.4	17.8	20.0	17.8	18.3	11.8	5.3	4.0	2.7	2.3
Calgary	22.0	17.0	17.8	17.3	18.8	15.8	6.1	4.4	2.9	2.8
Winnipeg	45.4	38.2	31.7	26.1	28.3	12.8	8.0	5.9	4.5	4.5
Québec	50.6	44.3	32.9	21.0	21.9	18.4	12.4	6.8	3.6	3.6
Halifax	24.8	23.1	14.6	10.1	10.5	18.5	12.5	6.6	3.6	3.5
Saskatoon	6.5	5.3	4.4	3.8	4.4	12.2	5.6	3.5	2.5	2.2
Regina	16.8	14.3	11.8	8.3	8.6	23.6	12.7	8.4	5.0	4.6
Saint John	13.2	13.7	12.2	7.1	6.8	16.9	14.3	11.5	6.3	5.6
Total	727.8	606.0	528.3	434.2	456.4	15.8	8.5	5.5	4.0	3.8

Source:

1951-1981 Censuses of Canada, published data for census tracts, and 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

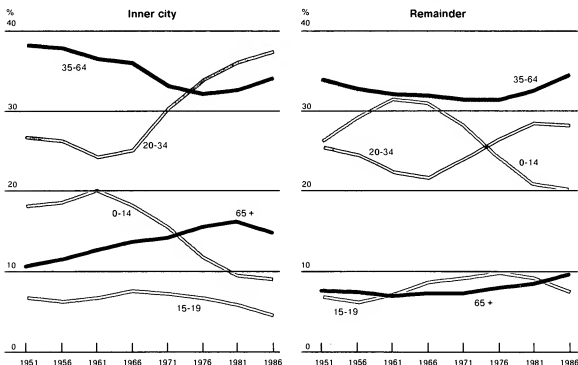
DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE

In general, Canadian inner cities are characterized by an under-representation of the young and an over-representation of the elderly. In 1986, the population under age 15 formed 9% of the total population of the inner cities, but 20% of the population of outlying areas. Conversely, the population aged 65 and over formed 15% of the population of inner cities, but only 10% of the population of outlying areas.

Population Under Age 15

Consistent with the overall reduction in fertility across Canada, metropolitan areas have recently experienced a marked decline in the proportion of the population in younger age groups. Chart 1 shows that since the peak of the baby boom in the late 1950s, the proportion of the population below age 15 has been in a continuous decline, having

Chart 1. Percentage of Population by Age Groups, Inner Cities and Remainder, 1951-1986



Source:

1951-1981 Censuses of Canada, published data for census tracts, and 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

fallen from 20% in 1961 to 9% in 1986 for the 12 inner cities under consideration. The corresponding reduction, however, was less pronounced for outlying areas, where between 1961 and 1986 the proportion of the population under age 15 declined from 32% to 20%.

Two factors could have contributed to this trend. First, the fertility rate of inner-city dwellers has probably been declining at a faster pace than the fertility rate of those living in outlying areas. Second, and probably a more important factor, could be selective migration. Probably persons with younger children are more likely to move out of inner-city areas, whereas persons with no children are more likely to move into the city.

Working-age Population

Recently, the population in the age group 20-34 years has become increasingly concentrated in inner cities. Between 1961 and 1986, their proportion increased from 22% to 28% in the outlying areas, but from 24% to 37% in the inner cities. The increase in the concentration of these persons has occurred in all the inner cities except Saskatoon and Regina. Inner-city living may be attractive to these persons for various reasons. Many of them may be single or married with no children or have very young children, and virtually all of them are just beginning their economic life cycle.

Over the years, inner cities have become less attractive to persons with older children. An examination of the concentration of population aged 35-64 in the inner cities over the years verifies this phenomenon. This age group has continually declined as a proportion of the total population within the inner cities, from 38% in 1951 to 34% in 1986.

Over-representation of the Elderly

While the younger population in the inner cities has declined, the number of people in the older age groups (65 years and over) has been increasing in proportion to the total population. Because of the easy accessibility of goods and services within walking distance and the availability of public transportation, older people tend to prefer living in the inner areas of cities rather than in the suburbs. The period 1976-1986 represents a deviation from earlier periods during which the relative concentration of elderly in the inner cities was reduced substantially. In 1976, the proportion of elderly in the inner cities was almost double that in the outlying areas, but was reduced to one and one-half times in 1986. Perhaps there has been a recent tendency for older persons to move out to the suburbs. As well, the increasing concentration of young adults has lowered the share of elderly persons in inner cities. Again, except for Saskatoon and Regina, these patterns hold true for all the inner cities considered. In Saskatoon and Regina, the concentration of the elderly has increased dramatically. Slightly less than a third of the population in these two small urban centres was composed of persons 65 years and over in 1986; the corresponding proportion in 1951 was less than 14%.

As the proportion of the elderly increased in the inner cities, so did the relative concentration of elderly women. In 1956, there were 95 women aged 65 and over for every 100 men in the same age group. By 1986, the ratio had jumped to 166 women for every 100 men. The corresponding change was less evident in the outlying zones of the metropolitan areas than it was in the inner cities, where the overall ratio increased from 118 in 1956 to 151 in 1986.

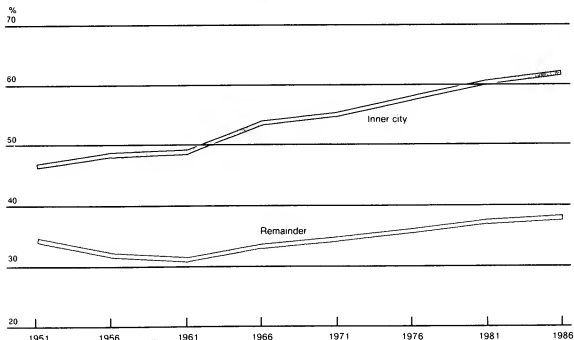
FAMILY PATTERNS

The traditional popular image of the inner city is sharply distinguished from the suburb in terms of family life. Whereas the suburb is characterized by the "family type" of neighbourhood, the inner city is viewed as being largely inhabited by unmarried persons who live alone, and by childless families and lone parents. Several measures of family patterns discussed in this section do, in fact, support this view. But, the extent of these inner-city/suburban differences vary by metropolitan area, as do some of their trends in family patterns.

Marital Status

One indicator that makes the inner city distinct from its outskirts is the disproportionately high share of its population that is not married (i.e. single, widowed and divorced). This inner-city/suburb difference has been in existence for a long time, but has widened since the 1960s. As shown in Chart 2, the proportion of the inner-city population who are not married increased from 49% in 1961 to 62% in 1986. Similar but less pronounced trends were

Chart 2. Percentage of Population Not Married, Inner Cities and Remainder, 1951-1986



Source:

1951-1981 Censuses of Canada, published data for census tracts, and 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

observed for the outlying areas. The more rapid increase in the inner-city areas can be attributed to the increasing concentration of young single persons for whom inner cities tend to serve as "staging areas" before they marry and move to the suburbs to raise families. It can also be attributed to an increasing proportion of widowed and divorced persons who choose to live in the inner parts of the cities, rather than in the suburbs.

One-person Households

An interrelated trend which has dramatically influenced various facets of inner-city life is a relatively high concentration of persons living alone. This group is comprised of persons who tend to be not only younger and unmarried, but also may include divorced, widowed or elderly persons whose children have moved out. In 1986, persons living alone constituted more than half (56%) of the households within inner cities, compared with just 22% of households in the outlying areas.

The higher concentration of one-person households in the inner city is not new. In 1951, one-person households accounted for nearly 15% of the inner-city households, compared with just under 5% in the outlying areas. In fact, as shown in Table 3, in the inner cities of Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon and Regina more than one-fifth of the households in 1951 were composed of persons living alone, compared with less than 9% in the outlying areas.

These cities have also remained leaders of this phenomenon in later years; by 1981, the proportion of one-person households in their inner cities had increased to three-fifths or more. In Vancouver, Edmonton and Calgary, this trend is largely attributable to a younger single and divorced population, whereas in Saskatoon and Regina it is attributable to an older and widowed population. Other inner cities have also experienced similar increases in varying degrees. In 1986, five of the twelve inner cities under examination had 60% or more of their households composed of persons living alone, while

Table 3. Percentage of Total Private Households With Persons Living Alone, Inner Cities and Remainder, 1951-1986

CMA	Inner city					Remainder				
	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
	%									
Toronto	9.8	22.5	34.7	51.4	48.9	4.2	7.3	12.2	20.0	19.9
Montréal	14.5	28.0	42.7	56.5	55.9	3.3	7.0	13.1	22.0	23.7
Vancouver	20.4	33.6	47.0	62.4	63.7	8.3	10.9	15.9	23.7	24.2
Ottawa-Hull	10.4	20.9	36.2	54.6	53.4	3.4	5.1	9.9	20.3	20.5
Edmonton	25.6	38.7	49.8	59.9	60.1	6.3	8.0	12.1	19.6	20.9
Calgary	25.4	43.1	51.6	64.0	63.4	8.2	9.3	12.5	18.3	20.8
Winnipeg	17.9	33.4	47.4	58.8	57.2	4.4	7.0	13.6	23.7	23.9
Québec	9.6	19.5	36.1	53.9	53.9	2.4	4.5	9.8	18.5	20.5
Halifax	8.6	12.0	26.2	45.2	45.4	4.3	5.8	9.3	18.5	18.2
Saskatoon	26.2	40.9	54.6	60.6	60.9	7.6	9.0	15.3	24.3	22.8
Regina	20.4	33.8	50.3	64.5	65.7	5.4	6.3	12.1	20.2	20.2
Saint John	11.9	18.9	26.6	40.7	45.6	5.6	7.4	10.3	17.3	17.9
Total	14.7	27.3	41.4	56.4	55.8	4.7	7.5	12.7	21.0	21.8

Source:

1951-1981 Censuses of Canada, published data for census tracts, and 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

in the remaining seven cities, the proportion was more than 45%. These figures are considerably greater than the national figure of 22%. The higher concentration of persons living alone in the inner cities can be explained mainly by the type of housing, which is primarily suitable for non-family living.

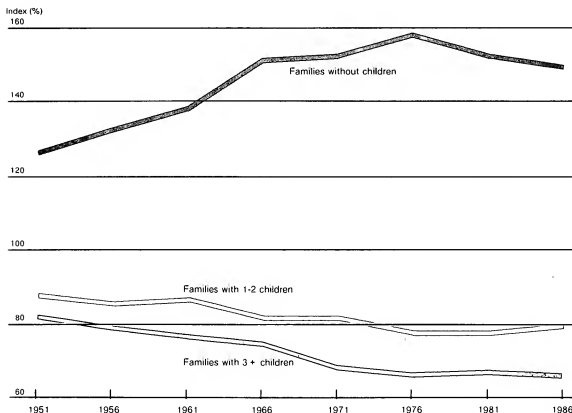
Smaller Families

Changes in family size are related to changes in household composition. On average, families in the inner cities are smaller than those in the outlying areas. In 1986, only 8% of inner-city families, compared with 13% of the families in the remainder of the metropolitan areas, had three or more children.

Also, 55% of the families in the outlying areas, but only 42% of the inner-city families had one to two children. Conversely, almost half (49%) of families in the inner cities were without children compared with a third in the outlying areas.

This trend towards smaller families in inner cities is not a new occurrence since the downtown core has traditionally been viewed as a less desirable place for raising large families. With the increasing concentration of smaller families in the inner city, divergence between inner cities and the suburbs in terms of their respective family size has increased over the years, as shown in Chart 3. Since the late 1970s, this trend has somewhat stabilized, probably because there has been an exodus of families at

Chart 3. Index¹ of Inner-city Families With and Without Children Relative to the Total Metropolitan Areas, 1951-1986



$$\text{Index} = \frac{\text{Proportion of inner-city families with a specific number of children}}{\text{Proportion of metropolitan families with the same number of children}} \times 100$$

Source:

1951-1981 Censuses of Canada, published data for census tracts, and 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

either end of the life cycle and an increased arrival of couples with children into the inner cities.

Lone-parent Families

Inner cities also tend to have a much higher proportion of lone-parent families than do outlying areas, as shown in Table 4. In 1986, the proportion of families with only one parent was higher in inner cities (22%) than in the remainder of the metropolitan areas (14%). But rates of change over the past

decade were similar in the inner cities and their outlying areas. In the inner cities the proportion of families with only one parent increased from 17% in 1976 to 22% in 1986, while in the remainder of the metropolitan areas the increase was from 11% to 14%. During this 10-year period, the various inner cities have differed markedly in their relative concentration of lone-parent families. In 1986, the proportion varied from a low of 15% in Calgary to a high of 33% in Saint John; the corresponding variation in the outlying areas ranged from a low of 12% for Toronto and Calgary to a high of 16% for Montréal.

Table 4. Lone-parent Families as a Percentage of All Families, Inner Cities and Remainder, 1971-1986

CMA	Inner city				Remainder			
	1971	1976	1981	1986	1971	1976	1981	1986
	%							
Toronto	16.7	17.9	21.0	22.7	8.9	10.0	11.5	12.4
Montréal	19.0	15.7	21.7	23.4	10.9	11.0	13.6	15.7
Vancouver	15.0	13.8	16.3	18.7	10.0	10.3	11.5	12.8
Ottawa-Hull	19.4	17.7	18.8	19.7	9.6	10.6	12.8	13.5
Edmonton	14.4	12.6	12.7	15.7	10.0	10.7	11.6	13.2
Calgary	14.9	17.0	13.6	15.3	9.6	10.2	11.1	12.5
Winnipeg	19.7	18.1	24.3	27.9	10.3	10.9	12.4	13.5
Québec	22.3	18.9	22.4	26.9	10.8	10.7	12.7	14.6
Halifax	23.5	23.2	25.3	28.8	9.3	10.3	12.6	13.1
Saskatoon	15.2	15.2	16.4	16.9	9.4	10.0	12.3	13.7
Regina	18.7	19.0	20.6	19.8	10.0	9.7	11.8	13.3
Saint John	19.5	21.3	31.3	33.4	11.1	10.7	13.9	15.4
Total	17.9	16.8	20.1	22.1	9.9	10.5	12.3	13.6

Source:

1976 and 1981 Censuses of Canada, published data for census tracts, and 1971 and 1986 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

CULTURAL MILIEU

Ethnicity is one of the most important variables associated with residential segregation in North American cities. Historically, faced with the disadvantages of low incomes, immigrants and ethnic minorities have been channelled into the inner parts of the city. These people have chosen to reside on the edge of the central business district. Most of them have sought low-cost housing that is close to their place of work.

Residential Distribution of Immigrants

In 1961, the foreign-born in Canada (hereafter referred to as immigrants) constituted 27% of the inner-city population but only 21% of the population of the outlying areas. As shown in Table 5, the figure for the inner cities edged slightly upward in the next 25 years to 30% in 1986, but remained relatively stable for the remainder of metropolitan

Table 5. Immigrant Population as a Percentage of Total Population, Inner Cities and Remainder, 1961-1986

CMA	Inner city				Remainder			
	1961	1971	1981	1986	1961	1971	1981	1986
	%							
Toronto	40.3	41.0	40.9	39.1	32.7	33.6	37.9	36.3
Montréal	19.5	22.8	27.3	27.1	14.9	14.4	15.8	15.6
Vancouver	48.1	41.4	41.1	37.9	26.8	25.4	29.1	28.4
Ottawa-Hull	13.0	16.0	20.4	19.8	12.0	12.1	13.9	13.7
Edmonton	37.2	26.9	28.3	25.4	22.6	18.0	19.6	18.4
Calgary	41.8	28.8	30.4	32.1	23.6	20.1	21.1	20.7
Winnipeg	33.0	30.4	34.5	34.4	22.9	19.2	18.7	17.5
Québec	3.3	3.1	4.3	5.8	1.9	2.2	2.2	2.3
Halifax	6.4	8.2	8.9	10.4	7.1	7.2	7.3	7.1
Saskatoon	36.2	30.5	24.3	21.4	16.9	13.3	11.4	9.3
Regina	31.1	24.2	24.5	18.7	15.5	12.1	10.0	9.1
Saint John	7.1	6.2	6.3	6.1	5.4	4.7	5.2	4.7
Total	27.0	28.0	31.3	30.2	21.1	20.6	22.8	22.2

Source:

1961-1981 Censuses of Canada, published data for census tracts, and 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

areas. This is considerably higher than the national level of 16% in 1986.

Between 1961 and 1986, the relative proportion of immigrants declined in inner cities, whereas the proportion increased in suburban areas. For example, in Vancouver, a metropolitan area that has traditionally attracted immigrants, the proportion of immigrants in the inner city declined from 48% to 38%, but increased slightly in its outlying parts. During the same period, Toronto, another metropolitan area attractive to immigrants, experienced no change in the concentration of immigrants in its inner city — their proportion ranged between 39% and 41%. In contrast, a slight increase in their already high concentration was observed in the outlying areas. Here, their proportion rose from 33% to 36%. In two other metropolitan areas — Edmonton and Calgary — the immigrant proportion declined both in the inner city and in the outlying areas, although the decline was faster in the inner city. These trends suggest that during 1961-1986 there may have been a growing preference for suburban living among the immigrants in these four metropolitan areas.

The growing preference for suburban living tends to be more true of immigrants who have been in Canada for some time, than of recent immigrants. In 1986, "older" immigrants (those who migrated to Canada before 1978) accounted for almost 80% of the immigrant population in the suburbs, compared with just 65% of immigrants in inner cities. More "recent" immigrants tend to settle in the inner cities. This tendency was most pronounced in Winnipeg where recent (post-1977) immigrants accounted for over half (53%) of the immigrant population in its inner city compared with just 19% in the rest of the metropolitan area. Neither the inner nor the outer areas of Saskatoon and Regina seem to have attracted as many immigrants.

In the remaining six metropolitan areas (Montréal, Ottawa-Hull, Winnipeg, Québec, Halifax and Saint John), the residential pattern of immigrants was generally the exact opposite to that described above; overall, the concentration of immigrants grew in the inner cities but not in the balance of the metropolitan areas. In the inner city of Winnipeg, the proportion of immigrants did not change much during 1961-1986, having fluctuated between 30% and 34%. But the proportion in the outskirts of the city exhibited a decline during the same period, from 23% to 17%. A similar pattern was observed for Saint John, where the immigrant population in the inner city remained low at 6% to 7% during the

25-year period, while declining elsewhere from 17% to 9%. In the outskirts of Montréal, Ottawa-Hull, Québec and Halifax, the concentration of immigrants increased only slightly, but in their inner cities, it increased markedly.

The changing patterns of immigrant residential distribution over the 25-year period resulted in a reduction in the number of cities whose inner zones were heavily inhabited by immigrants. In 1961, immigrants constituted more than 30% of the population in seven inner cities: Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Regina. In 1986, however, there were only four: Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary and Winnipeg.

Ethnic Concentration

Urban analysis of ethnic segregation typically focuses on the changing concentration of ethnic and cultural minorities in the inner city. Because of conceptual changes from one census to another, time-series data on ethnicity are not strictly comparable; however, they are meaningful when analyzed as indices showing their relative representation in the inner city compared with that in the total metropolitan area. As shown in Table 6, the relative concentration of the population from ethnic groups other than British or French has not changed much during 1961-1986. Relative to the total metropolitan areas, the representation of these groups remained high in the inner cities. To get a clearer view of the changing residential concentration of persons from ethnic origins other than British or French in the inner city, one must look at the individual cities. In six of the twelve inner cities considered — Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon and Regina — the relative concentration of these groups has declined markedly. These cities have historically been heavily populated by persons from ethnic groups other than British or French, and perhaps over time they have increasingly moved towards the outlying zones.

Winnipeg is a metropolitan area highly populated by persons from non-British-non-French ethnic origins. Over the years, these groups have become increasingly concentrated in the inner part of this city. In 1986, about three-fourths of the inner-city population of Winnipeg consisted of persons from ethnic groups other than British or French. This proportion is the highest among the 12 cities considered in this study. Winnipeg is unique also because of a high concentration of aboriginal population in its inner parts.

Table 6. Index¹ of Concentration of Ethnic Groups other than British or French in the Inner Cities Relative to the Total Metropolitan Areas, 1961-1986

CMA	Inner city			
	1961	1971	1981	1986
Toronto	122	111	102	102
Montréal	103	128	139	138
Vancouver	139	119	110	105
Ottawa-Hull	93	117	121	120
Edmonton	111	98	97	98
Calgary	118	107	103	102
Winnipeg	103	106	116	115
Québec	154	129	126	203
Halifax	128	117	116	123
Saskatoon	122	113	104	92
Regina	121	119	106	100
Saint John	105	141	109	117
Total	108	110	112	110

$$\text{Index} = \frac{\text{Proportion of population in ethnic groups other than British or French in the inner city}}{\text{Proportion of population in the ethnic groups other than British or French in the total metropolitan area}} \times 100$$

Source:

1961-1981 Censuses of Canada, published data for census tracts, and 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.



SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Generally, people of similar socio-economic characteristics tend to cluster together to form homogenous neighbourhoods. This chapter examines differences between inner cities and outlying areas with respect to five measures of socio-economic status: education, occupation, income, home ownership, and cost of dwelling.

Education

There are major differences between the inner and the outer parts of metropolitan areas regarding the education level of their residents. In 1986, 16% of Canada's inner-city population and 14% of the suburban population (aged 15 and over) had less than a Grade 9 level of schooling. Certainly, this does not represent a significant difference between the two areas. However, the proportion of the population with Grades 9 to 13 was higher in the outlying areas (38%) than in the inner cities (27%), whereas people with schooling above Grade 13 were more highly concentrated in the inner city than in outlying areas. Compared with only 23% of the residents in the remainder of the metropolitan areas, 36% of the inner-city residents had some university education or a university degree. The percentage of degree holders was also higher in the inner city: 21% of the inner-city population had a university degree, compared with a 12% level among the population in the outlying areas.

In 1971, inner and outer parts of most metropolitan areas were close to each other in terms of the proportion of the population with a university education. Over the next 15 years, this proportion increased in both areas, but much more rapidly in the inner cities, as shown in Table 7. Consequently, the inner and outer areas became increasingly dissimilar in their concentration of the university-educated population. In 1986, there were five metropolitan areas (Toronto, Montréal, Ottawa-Hull, Edmonton and Québec) where the proportion of the inner-city population having some university education was more than one and a half times larger than that in the suburbs; in 1971, this occurred in only

two metropolitan areas — Toronto and Montréal. It appears that inner cities are becoming increasingly attractive to highly educated persons.

Occupation

Inner cities also differ from the outlying areas in the occupational composition of their residents. In 1986, 37% of the labour force residing in the inner cities, compared with only 28% of the labour force residing in the outlying areas, occupied managerial and professional posts. Except for Winnipeg and Saint John, this pattern held true for all metropolitan areas considered, for both males and females. Also, for both sexes combined there was a larger concentration of persons engaged in service occupations in the inner city than in the remainder of the metropolitan area (18% versus 12%). However, in all inner cities, the proportions of the female labour force in clerical and related occupations were smaller than those in the outlying areas (30% versus 37%).

For the sake of brevity, only three categories — managerial and professional; clerical and related; and services — have been selected to portray the changing occupational composition of the population. Table 8 clearly shows an increasing concentration of the male labour force engaged in managerial and professional occupations in the inner cities (from 24% in 1971 to 37% in 1986), compared with the suburbs (from 22% to 28%). The pattern, though not as pronounced as for males, is also evident for females. This observation, which holds true for all cities covered by this study, provides additional support for the hypothesis that inner cities are becoming, with time, increasingly populated by white-collar workers, often displacing blue-collar workers who may be moving to the suburbs.

This situation is generally reversed for women employed in clerical and related occupations. The relative concentration of the inner-city female labour force in these occupations has declined during 1971-1986, since the reduction in the proportion in the clerical and related occupations was more rapid (from 40% to 30%) in the inner city than in the

outlying areas (from 43% to 37%). This could imply an out-migration of women in clerical and related occupations to outlying areas. But it is more likely a reflection of the recent large entry of suburban middle-class women into the labour force — particularly

those with clerical and related skills. These observations suggest again that the inner cities and the balance of the metropolitan areas have become increasingly dissimilar in terms of the socio-economic status of their respective populations.

Table 7. Percentage of Population Aged 15 and Over With Some University Education or With a University Degree, Inner Cities and Remainder, 1971-1986

CMA	Inner city				Remainder			
	1971	1976	1981	1986	1971	1976	1981	1986
	%							
Toronto	24.2	26.6	37.3	42.0	13.2	16.4	20.4	23.3
Montréal	16.7	22.8	30.6	38.7	12.8	16.0	17.1	19.9
Vancouver	15.9	21.1	26.4	29.2	15.1	17.6	22.2	24.4
Ottawa-Hull	18.4	24.9	35.6	41.6	18.2	21.3	24.8	28.2
Edmonton	16.5	19.7	26.1	32.6	14.8	15.8	21.0	21.9
Calgary	15.7	19.5	26.7	30.2	16.6	18.0	24.5	27.3
Winnipeg	11.2	15.5	19.1	21.4	14.2	16.0	19.9	23.3
Québec	9.6	15.9	21.8	28.0	11.9	14.4	16.2	19.3
Halifax	12.9	15.9	28.9	35.3	16.0	16.3	22.8	26.5
Saskatoon	11.4	25.1	21.3	24.5	18.3	17.2	24.3	26.3
Regina	14.7	14.1	18.5	29.9	15.3	16.3	22.2	25.6
Saint John	9.7	10.5	12.5	19.6	10.0	11.1	15.1	17.6
Total	17.4	22.0	30.1	35.6	13.9	16.6	21.1	22.9

Source:

1971-1981 Censuses of Canada, published data for census tracts, and 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Table 8. Percentage of the Labour Force Engaged in Selected Occupations by Sex, Inner Cities and Remainder, 1971-1986

Occupation	Inner city			Remainder		
	1971	1981	1986	1971	1981	1986
%						
Male						
Managerial/professional ¹	23.9	33.0	36.9	22.0	26.6	28.1
Clerical and related	12.9	10.9	10.4	11.3	9.4	8.8
Service	19.3	18.4	18.8	10.8	11.0	11.6
Female						
Managerial/professional ¹	26.4	32.4	36.4	21.2	24.7	28.4
Clerical and related	40.2	34.2	29.6	42.9	41.5	37.5
Service	18.2	16.0	16.6	14.0	12.9	13.5

¹ Includes managerial, administrative and related occupations; teaching and related occupations; occupations in medicine and health; occupations in natural sciences, engineering and mathematics; occupations in social sciences and related fields; occupations in religion; and artistic, literary, recreational and related occupations.

Source:

1971, 1981 and 1986 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

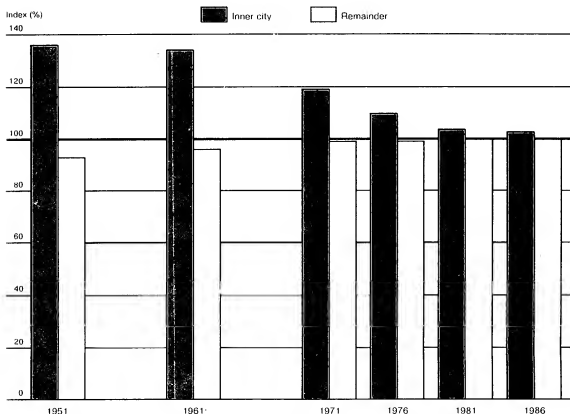
Historically, a larger proportion of the labour force engaged in service occupations lived in the inner cities. This is to be expected, given that most service occupations in places such as hotels, restaurants, and so on, are in, or very close to, the inner city. Generally, the situation has persisted over time.

Women's Labour Force Participation

In general, inner cities are different from their outlying areas in terms of women's labour force participation. Chart 4 presents the ratio of the labour force participation rate of women 15 years and over

in the inner city and its outlying area relative to the total metropolitan areas during the 1951-1986 period. It appears that the gap between the inner city and its outlying areas in terms of the labour force participation of women has been drastically reduced. In 1951, the women's labour force participation rate in the inner city was 36% higher than that in the total metropolitan area. Over the next 35 years, the gap was narrowed to just 3%. This increased similarity between the inner cities and the outlying areas was clearly due to a very rapid increase in the labour force participation of women living in the suburbs. Historically, the suburbs have been characterized by a heavy concentration of child-oriented families, and therefore a large proportion of women who did not

Chart 4. Index¹ of Women's Labour Force Participation Rate in the Inner Cities and Remainder Relative to the Total Metropolitan Areas, 1951-1986



¹
$$\text{Index} = \frac{\text{Women's labour force participation rate in the inner cities (or remainder)}}{\text{Women's labour force participation rate in the total metropolitan areas}} \times 100$$

Source:

1951-1981 Censuses of Canada, published data for census tracts, and 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

participate in the labour force. In recent years, however, an increasing proportion of women living in the suburbs have opted to work outside the home. Another factor motivating these women to enter the labour force has been the faster growth of jobs in the outlying zones of the metropolitan areas. Consequently, for women living in the suburbs, finding nearby employment is now easier.

Family Income

Inner cities remain distinct from the outlying areas in terms of income. As shown in Table 9,

between 1970 and 1985, the overall median income of census families in inner cities increased, but at a slower rate than for the remainder of the metropolitan areas; the rate of increase was more than twice as high for the outlying areas (28%) as it was for the inner cities (12%). As a result, the income difference between the inner city and the outlying area has widened. In 1970, the median income of inner-city families was 70% of that of families in the outlying areas; by 1985, it had dropped to 62%. This pattern, however, was reversed in Toronto, Montréal, Ottawa-Hull, Halifax and Saskatoon, where the inner-city family incomes have become closer to those of the remainder of the total metropolitan areas.

Table 9. Median Income of Census Families in Constant 1985 Dollars, Inner Cities and Remainder, 1970 and 1985

City	1970				1985			
	Inner city	Remainder	Inner city Remainder	× 100	Inner city	Remainder	Inner city Remainder	× 100
	\$	\$	%		\$	\$	%	
Toronto	22,689	32,624	70		30,622	41,723	73	
Montréal	18,715	27,971	67		24,445	34,646	71	
Vancouver	21,620	29,960	72		23,197	38,076	61	
Ottawa-Hull	23,977	34,007	71		31,282	43,107	73	
Edmonton	23,170	29,997	77		27,367	38,781	71	
Calgary	21,258	30,727	69		24,594	41,104	60	
Winnipeg	18,552	28,188	66		16,026	36,364	44	
Québec	20,129	27,301	74		21,796	35,284	62	
Halifax	18,232	28,393	64		23,747	36,815	65	
Saskatoon	21,067	26,541	79		29,536	35,832	82	
Regina	19,785	27,606	72		25,422	39,324	65	
Saint John	19,825	25,063	79		18,200	31,564	58	
Total	21,056	30,003	70		23,639	38,361	62	

Source:
1971 and 1986 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

A comparison of families by specific income group (in constant 1985 dollars) reflects the same disparity between the inner cities and the outlying areas. Table 10 shows that in 1985, the proportion of inner-city families with incomes less than \$20,000 was about twice as high as in outlying areas (39% versus 21%); the pattern was also about the same in 1970 (47% versus 24%), suggesting a similar improvement in family incomes in the inner cities and the suburbs. But the situation was different at the other end of the scale: the proportion of families with incomes of \$60,000 or more in outlying areas increased from 8% in 1970 to 19% in 1985, but in the inner city the corresponding increase was from 6% to 15%. It seems that inner cities have attracted an increasing number of high-income families during the 15-year period. During this period, the most impressive increases in the concentration of families with incomes of \$60,000 or more were observed

in larger cities: Ottawa-Hull, Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal.

Home Ownership

Home ownership is another indicator typically used to differentiate the socio-economic character of an inner city and the balance of a metropolitan area. As expected, the inner cities of most urban centres have only a small portion of owner-occupied residential dwellings — a sharp contrast to the suburbs. In 1986, only 14% of dwellings in the inner cities were owned as opposed to rented, compared with 57% of those in the outlying areas. Among the inner cities under study, Toronto and Saskatoon had the largest percentage of owner-occupied dwellings, at 19% and 18% respectively, while Calgary had the lowest, at only 5%.

Table 10. Percentage of Census Families in Inner Cities and Remainder in Selected Income Groups (Constant 1985 Dollars), 1970 and 1985

City	% of families in the inner city with incomes:				% of families in the remainder with incomes:			
	Less than \$20,000		\$60,000 or more		Less than \$20,000		\$60,000 or more	
	1970	1985	1970	1985	1970	1985	1970	1985
	%							
Toronto	43.3	33.0	8.6	22.0	19.9	16.7	10.3	22.7
Montréal	53.5	41.5	7.1	15.8	27.9	25.0	7.6	14.4
Vancouver	45.6	43.1	3.9	9.2	25.0	22.0	8.0	18.1
Ottawa-Hull	39.1	28.3	5.6	19.1	18.8	16.2	12.8	24.5
Edmonton	42.2	31.7	4.7	12.9	23.8	20.9	7.4	18.3
Calgary	47.4	41.0	3.4	10.4	22.2	18.6	8.1	23.5
Winnipeg	54.1	55.8	2.1	3.3	26.0	21.1	6.0	14.4
Québec	49.7	45.2	5.1	9.8	27.6	22.9	7.3	13.4
Halifax	56.2	42.2	---	7.9	24.4	19.7	6.3	15.8
Saskatoon	47.2	36.7	---	13.4	30.2	23.9	5.0	14.5
Regina	50.8	39.1	---	11.6	28.9	19.5	5.4	18.7
Saint John	50.8	55.0	---	---	33.5	29.4	4.0	9.3
Total	47.3	39.4	5.9	15.2	24.4	20.7	8.5	18.6

--- Less than 100 families.

Source:

1971 and 1986 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

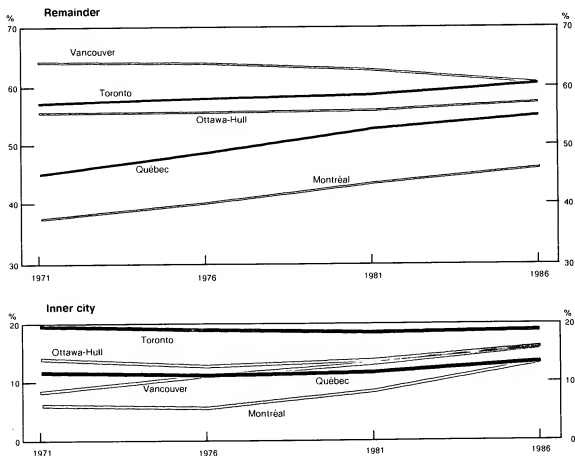
Between 1951 and 1971, home ownership in the inner city was on the decline. There are indications that this trend reversed itself, although only slightly, during the 1976 to 1986 period. This parallels the trends in increasing home ownership observed overall in metropolitan areas. For outlying areas the share of owner-occupied dwellings increased from 52% in 1971 to 57% by 1986. Within inner cities, the declining share of owner-occupied dwellings, from 22% in 1951 to 12% in 1971, has been followed by an increase, albeit slight, to 14% in 1986.

Among the different inner cities themselves, the growing trend in home ownership varies. In some metropolitan areas, as shown in Chart 5, the recent increase is not very pronounced, in others it is more

significant, and in some of the smaller metropolitan areas it has not yet occurred. Although, in general, home ownership has increased in both inner cities and outlying areas, it is more pronounced in the inner parts of certain metropolitan areas, i.e. Montréal, Vancouver, Ottawa-Hull and Québec.

For these areas, the increase in home ownership within the inner city may signal redevelopment and renewal. At the same time, a new factor in the growth of home ownership, especially in the inner city, has been the construction of condominiums and the conversion of apartments (rented) to condominiums (owned), which have helped to offset, if not reverse, the decline in home ownership among inner-city dwellers.

Chart 5. Percentage of Dwellings that Are Owner-occupied, Inner Cities and Remainder, 1971-1986



Source:
1971-1981 Censuses of Canada, published data for census tracts, and 1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Old Dwellings versus New Dwellings

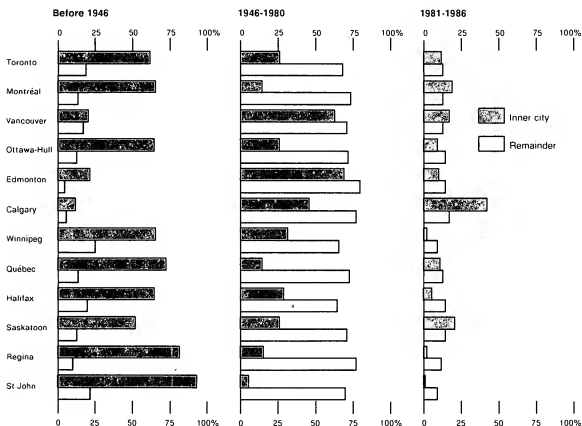
Since 1981, inner cities have also undergone a revival in the construction of residential dwellings. Although inner cities contain much older housing stock compared with outlying areas, their overall share of newly constructed dwellings (owner-occupied) is the same as the proportion for the remainder of metropolitan areas.

In 1986, well over half (57%) of owner-occupied dwellings within inner cities as a whole were constructed before 1946, compared with only 15% in the outlying areas. In sharp contrast, 62% of owner-occupied dwellings in the outlying areas were constructed after 1961 but this was true for only 36% in the inner cities. However, in the 1981-1986 period,

development in inner cities picked up, such that 13% of all owner-occupied dwellings in both inner cities and outlying areas have been built since 1981.

Although this overall pattern has occurred in most metropolitan areas, there are variations. In some inner cities, the share of newly constructed dwellings is even higher than in their respective outlying areas. In Calgary, where this phenomenon was most pronounced, 42% of the owner-occupied dwellings in the inner city compared with only 17% in the outlying areas were constructed during 1981-1986, as shown in Chart 6. Other cities with similar patterns were Montréal (19% versus 12%), Vancouver (17% versus 13%), and Saskatoon (21% versus 15%).

Chart 6. Percentage Distribution of Owner-occupied Dwellings by Period of Construction, Inner Cities and Remainder, 1986



Source:
1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Cost of Dwelling

In 1986, the value of owner-occupied dwellings tended to be higher in the inner cities compared with their respective outlying areas. The average value of owner-occupied dwellings for inner cities as a whole was \$140,300 in 1986, compared with \$108,300 in

the remainder of metropolitan areas (Table 11). At the same time, though, inner cities also have a higher proportion of "cheap" housing. In 1986, 14% of owner-occupied dwellings were below \$50,000 in value, compared with 9% in outlying areas.

Table 11. Selected Indicators of Cost of Dwellings in Inner Cities and Remainder, 1986

	Inner city	Remainder
Average value of owner-occupied dwellings (\$)		
Constructed before 1946	146,556	114,059
Constructed between 1946-1981	128,450	103,891
Constructed after 1981	141,007	125,617
Total average value	140,320	108,319
% of owner-occupied dwellings constructed before 1946		
Greater than \$150,000	36.2	23.3
Less than \$50,000	17.5	16.5
% of owner-occupied dwellings constructed between 1946-1981		
Greater than \$150,000	27.0	16.3
Less than \$50,000	12.5	8.7
% of owner-occupied dwellings constructed after 1981		
Greater than \$150,000	33.3	28.7
Less than \$50,000	5.6	5.0
% of owner-occupied dwellings for all construction periods		
Greater than \$150,000	33.0	19.0
Less than \$50,000	14.4	9.4
% of rented dwellings with monthly gross rent of		
Less than \$400	52.2	46.4
Between \$400-\$999	44.8	51.4
Greater than \$1,000	3.0	2.3
Average monthly gross rent (\$)	435	463

Source:
1986 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

One pattern that emerged overall is that very old dwellings within inner cities tend to be worth much more, in relation to dwellings of similar age in outlying areas. In 1986, about 36% of pre-1946 dwellings were worth \$150,000 or more in inner cities, compared with just 23% in outlying metropolitan areas. In general, these higher inner-city values reflect a combination of factors such as higher property values due to scarcity of land within the city core, renovations and the increased importance of heritage buildings.

Differences in rents between the inner city and outlying areas tend to be most pronounced at the low end of the scale, unlike differences in dwelling values. Rents tend to be lower, on average, within inner cities, as compared with the rest of the metropolitan areas. In 1986, the average gross rent in inner cities was \$435 a month, compared with \$463 in outlying areas. Over half (52%) of rented dwellings in the inner city had an average gross monthly rent of less than \$400 compared with 46% of those in outlying areas.



CONCLUSION

By analyzing census data from 1951 to 1986, this study has documented the patterns of similarity and dissimilarity between 12 inner cities and their outlying areas, in terms of demographic, family, cultural and socio-economic characteristics. It has also shown that some, though not all, inner cities have been passing through a period of mild transition in recent years, whereby certain long-term historical trends have either slowed down or reversed.

Clearly, there are many sharp contrasts between the inner city and the rest of the metropolitan area. Generally, inner cities are inhabited more by young adults and senior citizens, most of whom are not married, and less by families with school-age children. In contrast to residents in outlying areas, the majority of people in the inner city live alone, reflecting salient differences in life-style. Culturally, inner cities have higher concentrations of immigrants and ethnic groups other than those of British or French origin.

Over the years, some differences have become more pronounced while others have diminished. For example, within the inner city the concentration of young adults aged 20-34 is increasing, whereas the concentration of persons with older children is declining relative to outlying areas. Coincident with these changes is an increase in the proportion of persons with high levels of education, of employees in managerial and professional occupations, and of families with high income in the inner city. At the same time, however, the income gap between the inner city and its outlying areas has widened, such that overall income levels of inner-city dwellers have risen at a slower rate. In addition, some inner-city areas are witnessing a growth in home ownership and a revival in the construction of residential dwellings. Perhaps one of the most telling indicators of revitalization is that, for the first time since 1951, the population of most inner cities grew between 1981 and 1986.

What are the implications of these changes for the future residential development in the inner city? Is the recent revitalization that some inner cities are undergoing just a temporary phenomenon? What lies behind these changes in the inner-city landscape? Perhaps these issues could be examined in the light of factors such as increased costs of transportation, rising house prices in the suburbs, or a "baby-boom" effect — as more young singles and couples in the early stages of their work careers combine the convenience of downtown living with easier

access to jobs and, increasingly, home ownership. Regardless of these factors, however, there are built-in limits to residential renewal, construction and expansion within the inner city itself. The limited space and competition for land use from commercial interests leads to more and more high-rise residential development which is suitable for only certain types of living. One can only speculate on the characteristics of tomorrow's inner city. What has transpired, however, in the changing relationship of the inner city with its outlying area and their growing differences and similarities suggests that the inner city is in transition.

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